Mashington Sentinel. WM. M. OVERTON, CH. MAURICE SMITH,

AND BEVERLEY TUCKER.

SEPT. 29, 1855.

OUR SECOND ANNIVERSARY. On the 24th of the present month the fourth volume and second year of the Washington Sen-

Few subscribers to a newspaper-particularly a political newspaper-know the labor and privations to which its conductors are subjected. We waive the frequency of offence that must often necessarily be given by a refusal to publish every thing that may be brought them. That certainly is ever painful to those who have the heart, but not the power, to be the champions of every friend who may deem himself injured. But the unceas ing labor-that ends not with the day, the week, the month, nor the year, but is continuous-which attaches to such a vocation, is little understood or appreciated. Add to this the responsibility which of course is incurred, and the editorial life is no bed of roses. What reads smoothly to the reader, is no type of the cost of its preparation. Still, we have embarked upon our mission, and after a two years' pilgrimage, find nothing to discourage but much to make us hopeful in its accomplishment. We intend, while we have life and health, to pursue it to its complete consummation. What, is that mission which has inspired what we believe to be a laudable ambition within us? From the beginning the Washington Sentinel proposed to be not the supple organ of the Administration, nor the mouthpiece of any faction, but the inflexible supporter and advocate of the only principle in the theory of our Government which gives it any value. That principle is the sovereignty-the inalienable sover-EIGNTY OF THE STATES. Without the recognition of this principle in every quarter of the Union, the Union itself is a fraud and a nullity It was to lend our feeble aid to the general establishment of this doctrine, so plain in our Constitution, that it should have required no advocacy, that formed the chief political element in the establishment of our paper. We honestly believed then; as we believe now, that this purpose was to be more surely accomplished by the democratic organization; hence, we avowed our wish to become the "organ of the Democratic party," without fear or favor from any party in or out of power. How far we have fulfilled our contract we leave to our readers to say.

We feel that we have been honest, and that consciousness we would not exchange for what might be reckoned the more substantial fruits that would have flowed from a different coarse.

May we not then appeal to our readers to stand by us in our humble but carnest efforts. The stability of the Sentinel is no longer a problem. Its circulation is extending, though more slowly than we could wish, in all parts of the country. In a few weeks now, we shall again issue a daily, and shall spare no pains nor expense to make the Sentinel interesting and instructive.

HON. THOMAS H. BAYLY. We find the following in the Lynchburg Vir

Even the hope, which we gather from it, that this distinguished gentleman is improving, is

It will, however, be a source of the deepest re-Bayly holds in the House of Representatives, to contemplate his probable absence from it at the have more than once grieved the unholy spirit of fanaticism, and stayed its destroying march over the institutions of our neble country.

Still we hope for the best; and while we would not have his health further impaired by an imprudent exercise of his representative duties, we trust that he may yet be restored in time to render his great influence in the proceedings of the

next Congress. "Judge BAYLY and family arrived in this city vesterday, and took lodgings at the Norvell House. The judge has been spending the sum-mer season at the springs. We regret to learn that his health is yet quite feeble, though his friends think some slight improvement is visible since he left home. It is thought to be quite improbable that he will take any active part in the coming session of Congress, a result which may well be a subject of regret with every friend of the country, since calm and conservative statesmanship will bee one of its most faithful and able champions at its period of sorest need."

SEBASTOPOL.

A great blow has been stricken in the Crimea, but Sebastopol has not fallen; the Russian forces have merely evacuated the south side of the harbor, to make another glorious stand upon the north, and their guns yet thunder forth defiance from the bastions of Forts Catherine and Constantine. True, the Allies may now completely invest the place, and, in accordance with the maxims of military science, it must fall within

a given time; when that time comes, the double eagle of Russia will go down, as did our own stars and stripes on the Essex, "amidst a blaze of glory;" and the defence of Sebastopol will be recorded in history as the most gallant "fait d'armes" in all the annals of war. The destruction of this out-work is but the first scene in the great drama, of which the Crimea is the theatre, and the Allies have yet to find a Thermopylee at the isthmus of Perekon.

That the defenders of Sebastopol have achieved more than was expected, must be conceded by all. For two years the banded powers of Europe have been held in check, and the Allies now hold a heap of smouldering ruins, at a cost of a hundred

thousand lives, and, of treasure, untold millions. True, the Muscovite fleet has been destroyed, and many Russian lives have been lost, but it will only afford an opportunity of displaying to an astonished world the miraculous recuperative power of a young nation. From the inexhaustible naval stores of the empire new fleets will triumph. Let our people only be made acquainted spring up, as if by magic, beneath the creative with the extent of their danger, and the arts and hand of the mighty Czar, and the swarms of the

WE TORN HIM OVER TO HIS FRIENDS OF THE WASHINGTON "Union"-"OUR WITHERS ARE UNWBUNG !!!

SENATOR DOUGLAS IN ST. LOUIS .- Senator Douglas addressed a large meeting at St. Louis, September 22d, He denounced the fanaticism TRE STABAT MATER.

On Wednesday evening last was produced at To Mr. Lew s Tarran: St. Matthew's Church, for the benefit of the orphans at Norfolk and Portsmouth, this master piece of Rossini in a style superior to any sacred music ever performed in this city. The church nent letter over your signature : was thronged; the seats, the aisles, the galleries were filled at an early hour with a cultivated au-

The organ is a fine, deep toned instrument, and was under the skilful mastery of Mr. Palmer, whose playing was the theme of univertinel closed. Grateful to its kind patrons who have stood by it through all the storms which it has encountered, we beg a continuance of their us. The opening chorus was performed in a present time, at least one thousand slaves! There

It is a difficult task for an unlearned critic to specify the different voices, with appropriate names; and no invidious comparison is intended to be made; in a large number of performers, greater than others. The well known voices of an accomplished gentleman of the first ward, and an interesting member of his family, were highly praised; especially in a duet of the latter, as also the fine cultivated tenor of a professional gentleman recently settled among us. The solo sung by him is a beautiful specimen of music, and was executed to the delight of all present; the basso solo by an English gentleman was well performed, as also a delightful tenor solo by a lady.

The portion, however, of the production which roduced the finest effect, was the imprimatus t is impossible to convey in words the wonderful effect of this part of the performance; the choir seemed to have studied it with more care; the magical combination of voices, the grand swell of its majestic chorus, and high above all singing clear and liquid, the delicious contrasts now mingling with the sonorous tones of the organ and chorous, and thus soaring above them all in such extactic strains, was an effect more astonish ing than anything we have ever listened to. It is no exaggeration to say that this voice is one of the first quality, not surpassed by professiona training and skill anywhere.

The address of Mr. Donelan in behalf of the oor little orphans of Norfolk and Portsmouth was touching and effective, and was responded to liberally. Thus was passed a delightful evening in istening to the most cultivated music, and in gratifying the best feelings of our nature in soothing the sorrows of the helpless children left by the dreadful calamity.

We are happy to lay before our readers the following admirable letter from Senator Thomson, of New Jersey. We wish we had room for those of other distinguished gentlemen written on the same occasion

Letter from Hon. John R. Thomson.

PRINCETON, Sept. 13, 1855. GENTLEMEN: It would give me the greates pleasure to meet my Democratic friends in the city of Philadelphia on the 17th instant, if it ere in my power to do so; but it is not.

Never was there a time, in my judgment, since the adoption of the Constitution, when it was more necessary for its friends to stand up in its defence than at this day. Assailed, as it is, by combinations such as never existed before in this country—of the beguiled, disappointed, and fanatical of the old political parties—nothing of hope remains for its preservation but in the Den ocratic party, and in the conservative and patriotic members of the old whig party, who will unite with it to uphold this sacred instrument with all its compromises.

The existence of the most imminent danger to

the Union is no longer a mere senseless cry, but much more real and present than many have sup-posed. With the threat of dissolution of the Union (upon mere differences of opinion) our ears had become so accustomed, that when now uttered it is scarcely heard, but little heeded, and gret to all who know the position which Judge makes no impression. But this is a most fatal error. The separation of the southern and southwestern States from the Union must inevitably contemplate his probable absence from it at the coming session. The next will be a session of great moment to our country, and the loss of the government of the United States, and carry Judge Bayly's participation in its proceedings will be a national loss. He is the great Compliant photon words of wisdom and patriotism be accomplished by these combinations? A compliant photon words of wisdom and patriotism onstruction, or at least an utter destrucion, of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of our government. They propose to deprive one portion of the people of the United States of rights enjoyed by another portion, by establishing an inequality of rights among the States, admitting the right of self-government, and of the establishment of their own local and domestic institutions, to certain States, and prohibiting other States from the enjoyment of the same rights. And they avow their determination to restore an unconstitutional law to the statute-book, which had been repealed by the late Congress of the United States, as unconstitutional and minst: the restoration of which they must know ould be resisted by the united South, and, if acomplished, would cause them in a body to withraw from the Union. And this is not mere peculation; and it is worse than folly to clos our eyes to the dangers that grow out of it. The whole South feel that they are now contending, not for an abstract proposition, in relation to which there may be an honest diversity of opinion, but for their very existence. Disguise it as we may, the abolition party aim at nothing short of the abolition of the institutions of the South, and to this end all their efforts are directed. And in the ultimate accomplishment of this object they have derived the most efficient support from

new organizations which have sprung up within the past few years, the union of all which, at the late Congressional elections, has given to the enemies of the Constitution a large majority in the House of Representatives of the United That these fanatics should receive aid from an order whose cardinal principle is proclaimed to be the preservation of the Union, seems almost imsible to believe; yet in the Eastern States : perfect fusion has taken place between them, and they have set the example, and have committed the infamous act of deliberately nullifying, by legislative enactment, the Constitution and laws of the Union. Strange that a party professing such a principle as the foundation of their orde should, too, in other States, recommend the adoption of a measure which they must know, instead f preserving the Union, must, if carried out, lead its destruction.

In this alarming state of things, as upon every crisis in the affairs of our country which has ever occurred, the only hope and reliance of every lover of our institutions is in the Democratic party. Its triumphs are not the triumphs of ambition or sectionalism, but the legitimate fruits of their principles—the triumphs of patriotism and na-tionality. In no contest in which these issues were involved have they ever failed. Occasionally dis asters (where no great principles were at stake) may for a time have gladdened the hearts of their dversaries; but these were at long intervals of time, and of short duration. The party, purged of its gross materials by a season of adversity always rises stronger and better for its temporary chastisements-and so it will again rise and nations of their adversaries, and the result mand of the mighty Czar, and the swarms of the great northern hive will go forth at his bidding, and again sweep over the worn-out despotisms of Europe—the hand of destiny is there, and the power of man is vain against it.

GOVERNOR REEDER THE CANDIDATE OF THE FREESOILERS.

We work my over to his friends of the great of the Constitution, and will bind together more strongly than ever the fraternal bonds of the different States of the Union. ferent States of the Union.

With sentiments of great regard, your friend and fellow democrat, JNO. R. THOMSON. To Messrs. G. G. Westcott, John Robbins, jr and Jas. R. Ludlow, committee.

LIBEL SUIT .- A libel suit has been commen September 22d. He denounced the fanaticism invoked by the fugitive slave law, and Northern men who pronounced it unconstitutional. He discussed the Nebraska bill, and said that Congress bed no right to interfere in the local laws of States or Territories. The Know-nothings were bitterly denounced.

LIBEL SUIT.—A libel suit has been commenced by the editor of the Chicago Daily News against Judge Hubbell, of the Second Judiciary Court, for the statement by the judge that Attorney playment of her father. She reproved the woman case of Hugerford against Cushing offered a bribe of 5,000 to the editor of the News, who was a jurer in a land case of Hugerford against Cushing. The suit is brought by Cushing's attorneys.

Raleigh, North Carolina, was instantly killed there Monday morning by a negro girl in the employment of her father. She reproved the woman case of Hugerford against Cushing. The suit is brought by Cushing's attorneys.

"A Roland for an Oliver."

Sir,-I find published in one of our Virginia newspapers, and copied from the New York Tri bune, the following impudent, rude, and imperti-"Letter to General John H. Cocke, of

Virginia." "Six: You are a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and will, I suppose, be present at the annual meeting to be held at Utica, N. Y., on the 11th instant, agreeable to your usual custom. You are a slaveholder. A gentleman is this State. us. The opening chorus was performed in a brilliant manner, and prepared the audience for the musical treat before them.

It is a difficult task for an unlearned critic to took an active part in procuring the passage of the Nebraska and Kansas bill, and since the defense of the "institution" by Rev. Dr. Adams of Boston, who is associated with you in the there are always some whose natural gifts are Presidential Commutee, and preacher before the American Board-being also a men Board this year—your compunctions have ceased. It may be that you now think it quite consistent in you to be commissioner to promote the conver sion of the heathen in foreign countries, and among the Choctaws, and Cherokee Indians of this continent, while you, with your son-in lay old in comp rative heathenish darkness one thousand men, women and children in the who are bereit of their dearest rights. But allow me to express the hope that, coming once more into a free State-into a community that feels more than ever an abhorrence of slavery-assoc tial ministers and laymen in New England, New York, etc., you may be brought to see the great onsistency of your conduct, and be led, as you nancipate those whom you hold in bondage, and thus afford a high example of christian consistency that may cause the apologists of slavery in the Free States to blush while it influences ch "Respectfully

Now, sir, as it is well understood—at least in the community in which I live—that I am the person alluded to by you under the designation of the "son-in-law" of Gen. Cocke, I shall take the liberty of expressing to you through a channel equally public, the contempt I feel for the pharisai-cal, canting and ungentlemanly tone and tenor of our whole letter, and of saying, sir, further to ou, that when you, together with your whole fraterary of Abolitionists, shall have clothed housed, fed and otherwise cared for, and improved one thousand" of the wretched free pegroes in one thousand" of the white slaves and paupers ong the tens of thousands of such who are a lowed to experience, every winter in your grea cities, all the miseries of an otter physical and moral destitution, and when you shall have placed your one thousand free acgross or white pau-pers in circumstances of as much physical comfort, social and moral improvement as are now enjoyed by Gen. Cocke's slaves and my own, you, will have given to the world a better proof of ur own " convisiency" than you can ever hope in do, although you should spend a long life of imperfinent and canting intermeddling with the affairs of southern gentlemen.

I remain, sir, with due respect,
PHILIP ST. GEO. COCKE.

"The Plan of Ayutla."
In the accounts of the late Mexican revolution his phrase is often used to describe the basis of the new movement and the test applied to ascertain the fidelity of its leaders. This plan or basis for the construction of a new Government is em braced in nine articles, and takes its name from the city where it was adopted by the revolutionary leaders. Its important features are :

Proscription of Santa Anna and his adherents the organization of a temporary and provisional Government by delegates elected, one from each State and Territory, who shall elect a temporary President and constitute his Council until the stablishment of a permanent Government; the chiefs of the revolutionary forces in each State shall organize temporary local governments, on the basis of State independence and national unity -imitation of the United States; the Presiden shall order the election of a congress, for the pur pose of constituting a representative constitutional Government; the recruiting and passport laws and capitation tax are to cease at once; all who oppose this plan are to be treated as enemies o

The revolutionary party, since the abdication and flight of Santa Anna, have been quietly preparing the organization of the new Government

Indian Battle.

additional particulars of the great battle with Indians on the plains:

The engagement took place on the 3d instant, at the Sand Hills, on the north fork of the Platte.
The entire force of the United States troops who
participated in the engagement is stated at four
hundred and fifty men. Major Cady was in command of five companies of the 6th Infantry; Col. Cook had command of two companies of the 2d Dragoons, one company of Infantry, mounted, and a company of Artillery. The whole under the command of Gen. Harney.

The battle commenced early in the morning and lasted several hours. Gen. Harney ordered Col. Cooke's command to place themselves in position some distance in advance of the Infantry and so as to come down with full force upon the enemy. This movement was successfully formed about three o'clock in the morning. This movement was successfully perengagement was then brought on by the Infantry, who attacked and drove the Indians in the direction of Col. Cooke's command.

They were, of course, ready and eager for the fray, and commenced a desperate attack upon the enemy. They soon routed them, and a running fight followed for some ten miles. At a point of rocks a portion of the Indians are said to have made a stand, and to have fought with great desperation. But they were completely routed, hav-ing seventy or eighty men killed and fifty women and children taken prisoners. They suffered ale the loss of all their camp plunder, a large amount of dried buffalo meat, their lodges and fifty horses. The Indian women, it is said, fought furiously.

On the part of Gen. Harney's force five or six were killed and as many wounded. No officers

were among the killed The letters speak of the engagement as a very gallant and well conducted affair, as it undoubt edly was, to be successful in killing so many of the enemy and the capture of their women and

This war will not end here. The Indians will not be satisfied with a single engagement, though the result has been most disastrous to them. It is not probable that they will again risk a general engagement, but their policy will be to annoy and harass our troops, by inviting pursuit into distant and inaccessible portions of the country, and there giving them battle. But they will find Gen. Harney, and the forces under his command, ready to meet and chastise them at any point and under all circumstances.

How Long the WAR HAS LASTED .- The war in Europe is already two vears old. The Russian ambassador left Constantinople on the 22d of May, 1853, and on the 4th of June the English and French fleets received orders to approach the Dardanelles, and they anchored in Besika Bay On the 29th of June the Emperor of Russia ordered his army to occupy the Principalities. On the 14th of September two French and two Engwar steamers, from the fleet at Besika Bay, went to Constantinople. On the 27th the Porte declared war against Russia, and invited English and French fleet to Constantinople. the 2d of November the Emperor of Russia de-clared war against Turkey. The French decla-ration of war was made in March, 1854.

YELLOW FEVER AT MEMPHIS .- The deaths from fever at the Charity Hospital for the week ending September 22d were only 44.

It is reported here that the fever has made its appearance at Memphis in a very violent form, and that many citizens are leaving

MURDER OF A YOUNG LADY .- Miss Virginia Frost, aged 17, daughter of Austin Frost, of

RECRUITING FOR THE CRIMEA. The several indictments against Hertz for recruiting troops for the British service in the United States, were, on Thursday morning, given to the jury, who, after being out fifteen minutes, returned a verdict of guilty against him on all

NEW MEXICO. The Santa Fe mail, with dates of the 5th in

stant, has arrived at St. Louis. The Indian relations in New Mexico are reported as more favorable. The mail party met with but few Indians on the route, and those were friendly. Lieut. Col. Sumner, of the first dragoons, left Fort Laramie for the Plains, on the 20th instant, with seven companies of his command. NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH. Every heart throughout the country will re-

joice to learn that the cool weather which has prevailed for several days past has exercised a very favorable influence upon the epidemic, and that, as a consequence, the yellow fever has abated, and must soon cease altogether to exist. The results of the disease, like a dense pall, having so long enshrouded these cities in gloom, it is truly cheering to behold the bright indications of returning health.

A telegraphic despatch from Memphis, Tennessee, dated the 27th instant, informs us that there is no yellow fever there, and that the city is healthy.

The death of Mrs. Theodore F. Fay, wife of our ninister to Switzerland, is announced as having occurred at Berne, on the 31st ult. The maiden name of this lady was Miss Laura Gardner. She is represented to have been a lovely and accom-

> From the Washington Union. Letter From Hon. A. H. Stephens.

It will be seen from the subjoined letter, which we transfer to our columns from the Augusta hronicle, that the know-nothings of Georgia must be driven to a desperate strait when their only hope of success is through the circulation of such contemptible slanders as Mr. Stephens has seen

CRAWFORDVILLE, Sept. 20, 1855. MR. Jones: One of your late correspondents, Ivanhoe," in a communication headed Mr. Stephens on Mormonism, says:

"Mr. Stephens, when recently canvassing the county of Jefferson, and while at the residence of a prominent and influential member of the Baptist Church, expressed himself very freely in regard to the revolting practice of polygamy among the Mormons; and his language, if not positively in defence of it, was considered as very far from condemning it. He contended (if rightly understood) that the subject was controlled only by State legislation, and that in a manner not war-ranted by anything in the Bible !-- that in a political point of view the practice of it was no ground of objection with him; for he would as soon vote for Brigham Young for the presidency, with his thirty wives, as any other man, provided his abilities otherwise were suitable to the position! And went so far as to challenge two gentlemen of the Methodist clergy, of the highest standing, (who were conversing with him upon the subject.) to produce anything from the Bible in condemnation of the practice!

"These are the facts, as briefly given; and which, as I stated, can be verified if disputed, for I know all the parties. Such sentiments, no one will pretend to question, are full and sufficient to constitute Mr. Stepheus a polygamist in princi-

The facts here set forth I not only dispute but pronounce the whole statement to be a shameful perversion of truth and utterly false. Yours, respect-

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

MEDICINE FOR YELLOW FEVER .- WASHING-TON, September 20, 1855.—Reports seem to say that the yellow fever still rages with vigor at our neighboring towns. Some time since you published the remedies that I have used in the Gulf of Mexico and elsewhere in 1853, when this pestilence was in New Orleans, carrying off hundreds per day. I arrived there, and, as can be vouched for by many respectable persons, my remedies were the only ones that any cure was made from, and ninety-nine cases out of the hundred were eral letters from persons at Norfolk and Ports-mouth stating that where it has been used in time t never has failed: but medical men will not use t, as it is not in their books. Let the nurses and the people use it without the consent of doctors, and they may save their families the cost of salt, lemon, and oil. Mustard, quinine, elixir of vit-riol, and water, is not much. The associations. should provide with the above, and no doctors would be required to administer it.

Yours truly, JONAS P. LEVY,

474 Penn avenue, Washington President Pierce in Pennsylvania

the Baltimore Sun of yesterday morning: HARRISBURG, September 26 .- Our city ha resented a most animated spectacle to-day, and is thronged to overflow with visiters. All the principal hotels are decorated with flags and sanners are suspended across the streets at various

The trains of cars continue to arrive crowded

The following telegraphic dispatch appears in

with passengers, whilst wagons and vehicles of every description are pouring in from the sur-rounding country. It is doubtful whether they will all find sleeping quarters to-night. "At twelve o'clock to-day the concourse as-"At twelve o'clock to-day the concourse assembled at the railroad depot to receive and welcome the President of the United States. He was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, whilst a national salute of thirty guns was fired by the military. He was accompanied from Baltimore by ex-Mayor Hollins, Hon. Joshua Vansant, Hon. John P. Kennedy, Robert M. Magraw, and Zenos Barnum, esqs., and a large delegation of Baltimoreans.

legation of Baltimoreans.

After being welcomed by the authorities, to which he briefly responded, he was conducted to his rooms at Behler's hotel, and after dinner, accompanied by the governor of the State and a committee of the Agricultural Society, visited the fair grounds, where he was also heartily welcomed by the spectators.

The display of cattle, horses, chickens, agricultural implements, produce, and household productions, is very fine, and the grounds are admirably arranged. The weather has been very favorable up to the closing this evening, but it is now cloudy and threatening a storm."

SUDDEN DEATH .- William Tuckerman, esq. for many years a hardware merchant in Boston, died on Thursday. The Traveller says he had no particular disease, but the dishonesty of his son. the defaulting treasurer of the Eastern railroad, weighed very heavily on his mind, and the mor-tification and distress which it caused was, it is said, one of the causes of his death,

A story is told of the clerk of a little village church in the west of England, where the service is never commenced on Sunday, mornings until the "squire" has taken his seat. One Sunday, however, this gentleman happened to be late, and a neighboring clergyman, not acquainted with the ways of the place, was "doing duty." So he commenced as usual with "When the wicked man—;" up jumped the clerk, bawling out, "Stop, stop, sir! he's not come yet!"

CORN IN INDIANA .- The Lafayette (Ia.) Courier says that contracts have already been made for large amounts of corn, to be delivered during the winter, and previous to the opening of the canals in spring, at 20 cents a bushel. The New York Captains of the Police

have petitioned for an increase of their salary to \$1,500. Ty Two thousand seven hundred new buildings have been erected, or are in progress of erec-

ion, in Chicago, during the present season. To One of the United States officers in Utah, said, has become a Mormon and has two

Smith, the razor-strap man, widely known as a shrewd, wide-awake Yankee, has become a

sion three days, and adopted resolutions of a very decided and patriotic character. We do not know a man in the State who has ventured to dissent from the doctrines set forth in the resolutions of that convention. They spoke the voice of Mis-souri and of every slaveholding State in the

The convention did not, however, stop with a mere declaration of opinion—solemn as that de-claration might be—in regard to the questions presented; but it authorized the appointment of a committee to address the People of the United States on the subject. The committee itself was selected with scrupulous care. Judge Napton, selected with scrupulous care. Judge Napton, once upon the supreme bench of this State; Governor S. Price, the present chief magistrate of Missouri; ex-Governor King; M. Oliver, member elect in Congress; and S. H. Woodson, a distinguished lawyer of the State, were the committee. All these gentlemen had political and personal characters to sustain, and accordingly we find four of them—ex-Governor King not concurring—agreeing upon an address, which, whether we regard it as a literary composition or as an address to the wisdom and patriotism of the Union, may well challenge criticism from any quarter. This address is, for the first time, published today, and we invite the earnest attention, not only of the people of this State, but of the whole Union, to the solemn truths which it enunciates, and which must receive the endorsement of the and which must receive the endorsement of the people of the United States, or this Union will be at an end.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

We have been appointed by a conv We have been appointed by a convention of citizens of Missouri, mainly representing that portion of the State lying contiguous to the Territory of Kansas, to lay before you some suggestions upon a topic which vitally concerns our State, and which, it is believed, may to a serious extent affect the general welfare of our country. We propose to discharge this duty by a concise and candid exposition of facts touching our condition and its bearing upon Kansas, accompanied tion and its bearing upon Kansas, accompanied with such reflections as the facts naturally sug-

That portion of Missouri which borders on Kansas contains, as nearly as can now be ascertained, a population of fifty thousand slaves, and their estimated value, at the prices prevailing here, is about twenty-five millions of dollars. As the whole State contains but about one hundred thousand slaves, it will be seen that one-half of the entire slave population of Missouri is located in the eighteen counties bordering on Kansas, the greater portion of which is separated from that Territory by no natural boundary, and is within a day's ride of the line. This part of our State is distinguished by a uniform fertility of soil, a temperate and healthful climate, and a population progressing remidly in all the elements that temperate and heatthful chimate, and a popula-tion progressing rapidly in all the elements that constitute a prosperous community. Agriculture is in a most flourishing condition, and the towns and villages which have sprung up indicate a steady progress towards wealth, refinement, and commercial importance. Nor have the higher

interests of education, religion, and science, been neglected; but common schools and respectable nstitutions of a higher grade, and churches of every Christian denomination, are found in every county. The great staple of this district is hemp, although tobacco, and corn, and wheat are also largely produced. The culture of hemp has been found profitable—more so than cotton in the South; and this fact, with the additional ones that almost every foot of land within the counties alluded to is wonderfully adapted by nature to its production, in greater quantities and finer qualiies, and at smaller cost, than in any other State

unexampled growth of the country. Already it constitutes the most densely populated portion of our State, and its remarkable fertility of soil and general salubrity of climate, with the facilities for outlet furnished by a noble river retained to the solution of the country. Already it constitutes the most densely populated portion of our state, and its remarkable fertility of soil and general salubrity of climate, with the facilities for they have been instructed and facilities for the solution of the country. Already it constitutes the most densely populated portion of our state, and its remarkable fertility of soil and general salubrity of climate, with the facilities for the solution of the country. permit the growers of this article to reside on their estates, will readily explain and account for the

An idea has, to some extent, prevailed abroad that Missouri contained but a very small slave

population, and that the permanence of this in-stitution here was threatened by the existence of at least a respectable minority of her citizens ready and anxious to abolish it, and that only a slight external pressure was necessary to accom-plish this purpose. We regret that this opinion plish this purpose. We regret that this opinion has, to some extent, received countenance from the publication and patronage of journals in our commercial metropolis, evidently aiming at such be entirely foreign to our purpose, we think it been expectable party can be found in this State, outside of St. Louis, prepared to embark in any such schemes. In that city, constituting the great outlet of our commerce, as well as that of several other States and Territories, it will not seem surprising that its heterogeneous population should furnish a foothold for the wildest and most visionary projects. St. Leaving the great outlet of our commerce, as well as that of several other States who pronounced slavery and their value amounted to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and their value amounted to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and their value amounted to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and their value amounted to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery and invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery are invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, who pronounced slavery are invited to fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had these fanatics, and the fifty millions of dollars. Had the fifty millions of doll jects. St. Louis was, however, represented in our convention, and it is not thought unwarrantable to assume that the resolutions adopted by this body have received the cordial approbation of a large and influential portion of her citizens. Other countries, besides St. Louis, outside of the district to which our observations have been principally directed, were also represented by delegates; and had not the season of the year, the short notice of its intended session, and the locality where the convention was held—remote from the centre of the State—prevented, we doubt not, that delegates from every county in the State would be a compensation to their owners; and it is therefore apparent that tenfold the entire revenue of the the State would have been in attendance. In-deed, a portion of the Upper Mississippi and Lower Mississippi counties are as deeply, though less directly, interested in this question as any less directly, interested in this question as any part of this State; and their citizens are known to would create. We omit altogether, in this calaccord most heartily in the sentiments and ac-tions of western Missouri. Even in the southwest part of our State, from the Osage to the porders of Arkansas, where there are but few slaves, the proceedings of public meetings indi-cate the entire and active sympathy of that people. From the general tone of the public press throughout the State a similar inference is de-ducible, and, we feel warranted in asserting, a very general, if not unanimous, concurrence in the the principles adopted by the Lexington con-vention. Those principles are imbodied in a series of resolutions appended to this address, and which, we are happy to say, were adopted with entire unanimity by a body representing every shade of political opinion to be found in the interior of our State. These facts are conclusive of the condition of public sentiment in Missouri. The probabilities of changes here in reference to the question of slavery are not essentially different from what they are in Tennessee, or Virginia, or Kentucky. In relation to numbers, a reference to the census shows that Missouri contains double the number of Arkansas,

nearly double the number of Texas, and about an equal number with Maryland. solitary exception to a general rule, her condi-tion in regard to the territory west of her border, and yet north of the geographical line which Congress had fixed as the terminus of southern nstitutions, was truly unenviable. With two States on her northern and eastern border, in many portions of which the constitution of the United States, and the fugitive-slave law passed

IF We insert the following "Address to the defend them. No alternative was left to that in relation to efforts of this character, it would People of the United States." We beg for it the body but to repeal the restriction, and thus leave seem, ought to be conclusive, at least, against to the constitution and the laws of nature the those who have no actual interests involved, and careful perusal of every reader. We do so, because we have said from the beginning that there were elements in the Kansas controversy which were portentous for good or for evil. The able address which follows is a perfect evisceration of the whole subject. To add a word to it would be to dilute it, and therefore we only ask again a patient, thinking, perusal of it.

To the constitution and the laws of nature the settlement of our Territories, or, by retaining the restriction, indirectly to abolish slavery in Missouri. If the latter alternative had to be selected, it would have been an act of charity and mercy to the slaveholders of Missouri to warn them in time of the necessity of abandoning their homes or manumitting or selling their slaves—to give them ample time to determine between the sacrifice of fifty millions of slave property and seventy millions of landed estate.

Direct legislation would have been preferable to

wisely, as we think, and with greater fidelity to the Constitution and the Union.

The history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill is known to the country. It abolished the geogra-phical line of 36 deg. 30 min., by which the limits of slavery were restricted, and substituted a con-stitutional and just principle, which left to the settlers of the Territories to adopt such domestic all reasonable men and reconcile all conflicting interests, this would seem to have been the one. It was the principle of popular sovereignty—the basis upon which our independence had been achieved—and it was therefore supposed to be justly dear to all Americans, of every latitude and every creed. But fanaticism was not satis-fied. The Abolitionists and their allies moved heaven and earth to accomplish its defeat, and although unsuccessful they did not therefore de-spair. Outvoted in Congress, receiving no coun-tenance from the Executive, they retired to ano-ther theater of action, and strange to say, they ther theatre of action, and, strange to say, they prostituted an ancient and respectable Commonwealth—one of the Old Thirteen—to commence, in her sovereign capacity as a State, with the in her sovereign capacity as a State, with the means and imposing attitude incident to such a position, a crusade against slavery, novel in its character, more alarming in its features, and likely to be more fatal in its consequences, than all the fanatical movements hitherto- attempted since the appearance of Abolitionism as a political party in 1835. They originated and matured a scheme, never before heard of or thought of in this country, the object and effect of which was to evade the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and, in lieu of non-intervention by Congress, to substitute active intervention by the States. to substitute active intervention by the States. An act of incorporation was passed; a company with a capital of five millions was chartered; and this company was authorized to enlist an army of nercenary fanatics and transport them to Kansas Recruiting officers were stationed in places most likely to furnish the proper material; premiums were offered for recruits; the public mind was stimulated by glowing and false descriptions of the country proposed to be occupied, and a Hessian band of mercenaries was thus prepared and

forwarded to commence and carry on a war of ex-To call these people emigrants is a sheer perversion of language. They are not sent to cultivate the soil, to better their social condition, to add to their individual comforts, or the aggregate wealth of the nation. They do not move from choice or taste, or from any motive affecting, or supposed to affect, themselves or their families. They have none of the marks of the old pioneers, who cut down the forests of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, or levelled the canebrakes of Tennessee and Mississippi, or broke up the plains of Illinois culture; picked up in cities or villages, they of to their unaided resources—if not clothed and fed by the same power which has effected their transportation—they would starve or freeze. They are hirelings—an army of hirelings—recruited and shipped indirectly by a sovereign State of this too, which was so extremely hateful to the faisting in the Territory to which they are trans-planted, and thence to inflict a fatal blow upon the resources, the prosperity, and the peace of a neighboring State They are military colonies, planted by a State government to subdue a Territory opened to settlement by Congress, and take exclusive possession thereof. In addition to that anti-slavery agitators, both in and amost every foot of land within the counties led to is wonderfully adapted by nature to its action, in greater quantities and finer qualistic at a smaller cost, than in any other State Union, and that the climate is such as to the growers of this article to reside on their s, will readily explain and account for the mpled growth of the country. Already is general salubrity of climate, with the facilities for outlet furnished by a noble river running through gard the laws of God and man; to consider bloodits midst, and two great railroads, destined soon to traverse its upper and lower borders, will render it at no distant period, if left undisturbed, as desirable and flourishing a district as can be found in the Mississippi valley.

gard the laws of God and man; to consider blood-our fraction upon Kansas is without precedent in our history. Seventy-nine years of our national life have rolled by; Territory after Territory has single slave from his master, or harboring and protecting the thief who has carried him off!

Missouri, and immediate destruction of such owners of slaves as had already moved to the Terowners of slaves as had already moved to the Territory of Kansas, is too clear to admit of argument. A horde of our western savages, with avowed purposes of destruction to the white race, would be less formidable neighbors.

of this character was a circumstance which aroused attention and excited alarm among our result. Without, however, going into any explanation of political parties here, which would grated to Kansas. Could any other result have been expected? Did sensible men at the North—did the Abolitionists themselves—expect any

Missouri contained, as we have seen, one hundred thousand slaves, and their value amounted dinary fiscal purposes, scarcely reaches five hun-dred thousand dollars, and the abolition of slavery here would involve the destruction of productive capital estimated at fifty millions of dollars, or taxation upon the people of five millions lars, or taxation upon the people of five millions of dollars annually, which is the legalized interest upon this amount of capital, besides the additional settlers as soil and climate invited. The South tax which would be people of five millions tempted to colonize a Territory. Our public lands have been left to the occupancy of such settlers as soil and climate invited. The South culation, the impracticability and impolicy and cruelty, to both races, of liberating the slaves here, with no provision for their removal, and the additional debt which such removal would create, equal, in all probability, to that occasioned by their mere emancipation. It would seem, then, that the merest glance at the statistical tables of It would seem, then, our State, showing its population and revenue, must have satisfied the most sanguine abolitionist of the fatility of his schemes. If the investigation was pursued further, and our estimate was made to embrace the three millions and a half of slaves now in the Southern and Southwestern States, and the billions to which our computation must ascend in order to ascertain their value in money, this anti-slavery crusade, which presents itself in a form of open aggression against the white race, without the semblance or pretext of good to that race for which the abolitionist professes so much regard, and which stands so much higher in his affections than his own, is seen to be one of mere folly and wickedness, or, what is perhaps worse, a selfish and sectional struggle for political

power. It is a singular fact, and one worthy of notice These facts are stated with a view to a proper understanding of our position in reference to the settlement of Kansas, and the legitimate and necessary interest felt in the progress and character of that settlement. Previous to the repeal of the congressional restriction of 1820, by which Missouri was thrown into an isolated position in reference to the question of slavery, and made a solitary exception to a general rule has a solitary exception to a general rule has a solitary exception to a general rule has a proper in this connection, that in the history of African slavery up to this time, no government has ever yet been known to abolish it which fairly represented the interests and opinions of the governed. Great Britain, it is true, abolished slavery in Jamaica, but the planters of Jamaica had no potential voice in the British Parliament. The abolition of slavery in New England and in the Middle States can hardly be cited as an exception, since in this connection, that in the history of African that abrogation was not so much the result of positive legislation as it was of natural causes—

Were this not the case, it would still be impose positive legislation as it was of natural causes—
the unfitness of climate and productions to slave
labor. It is well known to those familiar with the jurisprudence of this country and of England, that slavery has been in no instance created by positive statutory enactment, nor has it been abolished in any country when the popular will in pursuance thereof, were known to be as in-efficacious for the protection of our rights as they ence and non-existence appears to depend entirely efficacious for the protection of our rights as they would have been in London or Canada. It was left to the will of Congress, by enforcing the restriction of 1820, to cut Missouri off almost entirely from all territorial connection with States which works out its ends in a mode and at a time having institutions congenial to her own, and with populations ready and willing to protect and The history of some of our slaveholding States

address which follows is a perfect evisceration of the whole subject. To add a word to it would be to dilute it, and therefore we only ask again a patient, thinking, perusal of it.

From the St. Louis Republican.

Address to the People of the United States.

In July last a convention of delegates from a large number of counties in this State was held at Lexington. The convention remained in session three days, and adopted resolutions of a very decided and patriotic character. We do not know the most of the slaveholders of Missouri to warn them in time of the necessity of abandon-ing their homes or manumitting or selling their slaves—to give them ample time to determine between the sacrifice of fifty millions of slave property and seventy millions of landed estate. Direct legislation would bave been preferable to indirect legislation, leading to the same result, and the enforcement of the restriction in the settlement of Kansas was virtually the abolition of slavery in Missouri. But Congress acted more wisely, as we think, and with greater fidelity to the Constitution and the Union.

The history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill is nevertheless failed, without a show of strength of a step in advance towards the object contem-plated. The magnitude of the difficulties to be overcome was so great and so obvious as to strike stitutional and just principle, which left to the settlers of the Territories to adopt such domestic institutions as suited themselves. If ever there was a principle calculated to commend itself to all reasonable men and reconcile all conflicting interest, this would seem to have been the settlers and one, too, of the foremost in the work of emancipation) "has been accepted as a permanent part of their social system." Can it be that there is a destitution of honesty, of intelligence, of patriot ism and piety, in slaveholding States, and that these qualities are alone to be found in Great Britain and the Northern free States? If not, the of such an enterprise exceed all the calculations of statesmanship and philosophy; and their removal must await the will of that Being whose prerogative is to make crooked paths straight

and justify the ways of God to man.

We have no thought of discussing the subject of slavery. Viewed in its social, moral, or economical aspect, it is regarded, as the resolutions of the convention declare, as solely and exclusively a matter of State jurisdiction, and therefore one which does not concern the Federal Government, or the States where it does not exist. We have merely adverted to the fact in connection with the recent Abolition movements upon Kansas, that, amidst all their fierce denunciations of slavery for twenty years past, these fanatics have never yet been able to suggest a plan for its removal consistent with the safety of the white race—saying nothing of constitutional guarantees, federal and State.

The colonization scheme of Massachusetts, as we have said, excited alarm in Missouri. Its ob-

vious design was to operate further than the mere prevention of the natural expansion of mere prevention of the natural expansion of slavery. It was intended to narrow its existing limits—to destroy all equilibrium of power between the North and South, and leave the slave-holder at the will of a majority, ready to disregard constitutional obligations, and carry out to their bitter end the mandates of ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry. Its success manifestly involved a radical change in our Federal Government, or its total overthrow. If Kansas could be thus abolitionized, every additional part of the ment, or its total overthrow. If Kansas could be thus abolitionized, every additional part of the present public domain hereafter opened to settlement, and every future accession of territory, would be the subject of similar experiments, and an expleded Wilmot proviso thus virtually enforced throughout an extended domain still claimed as national, and still bearing on its military experiments. tary ensigns the stars and stripes of the Union. If the plan was constitutional and legal, it must be conceded that it was skilfully contrived, and admirably adapted to its ends. It was also emiulture; picked up in cities or villages, they of ourse have no experience as farmers, and if left tered, since the States adopting it contained a Union, to make war upon an institution now existing in the Territory to which they are transplanted, and thence to inflict a fatal blow upon it was particularly framed, and as a precedent to Congress for the opening of other districts to settlement. The old Missouri restriction could have done no more, and the whole purpose of the those who contrived it as it could have been to those intended to be its victims.

The circumstance of novelty is entitled to its weight in politics as well as law. The Abolition irruption upon Kansas is without precedent in our history. Seventy-nine years of our national life have rolled by; Territory after Territory has That such a population would be fatal to the peace and security of the neighboring State of to devise a plan of acquiring exclusive occupation of a Territory by State colonization. To her past history to say, that she was in the times of her Adamses, her Hancocks, and her Warrens; The colonization of Kansas with a population of this character was a circumstance which times, when her Websters and Choats and Winthrops led the van of her statesmen. Her legisla-tive halls are filled with ruthless fanatics, dead books are polluted with enactments purporting to annul the laws of Congress, passed in pursuance and by reason of the special requirements of the Constitution; and her senatorial chairs at Washington are filled by a rhetorician and a bigot, one of whom studies to disguise in the drapery of a classic elecution of the most hideous and treasonable forms of fanaticism, whilst his colleague is pleased to harangue a city rabble with open and unadulterated disunionism, associated with oracles of abolitionism and infidelity—a melancholy spec-tacle to the descendants of the compatriots of

Benjamin Franklin! No southern or slaveholding State has ever attion has followed the parellels of latitude, and will continue to do so unless diverted by such or ganizations as Emigrant Aid Societies and Kan

It has been said that the citizens of Massachu-

setts have an undoubted right to emigrate to

Kansas; that this right may be exercised individually or in families, or in larger private associa-tions; and that associated enterprise, under the tions; and that associated enterprise, under the sanction of legislative enactments, is but another and equally justifiable form of emigration. Poli-tical actions, like those of individuals, must be judged by their motives and effects. Unquestionably, emigration, both individual and collective, from the free States to the South, and, vice versa, from the slave State to the North, has been progressing from the foundation of our government to the present day, without comment and with-out objection. It is not pretended that such em-gration, even if fostered by State patronage, would be illegal, or in any respect objectionable. The wide expanse of the fertile West, and the deserted wastes of the sunny South, invite occunation; and no man, from the southern extremit Florida to the northern boundary of Missouri has ever objected to an emigrant simply because he was from the North, and preferred free labor to that of slaves. Upon this subject he is allowed to consult his own taste, convenience, and conscience; and it is expected that he will permit his neighbors to exercise the same privilege. But no ne can fail to distinguish between an honest, bona fide emigration, prompted by choice of necessity, and an organized colonization with of fensive purposes upon the institutions of the country proposed to be settled. Nor can there be any doubt in which class to place the movements of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Societies and Kansas Leagues. Their motives have been can-didly avowed, and their objects boldly proclaimed Why, we might well in quire, if simple emigration was in view, are those extraordinary efforts confined to the Territory of Kansas? Is Nebraska, which was open settlement by the same law, less desirable, less inviting to northern adventurers than Kansas-Are Iowa, and Washington, and Oregon, and Minnesota, and Illinois, and Michigan, filled up with population, their lands all occupied, and furnishing no room for Massachusetts emigrants? is Massachusatts herself overrun with population
—obliged to rid herself of paupers whom she cannot feed at home? Or is Kansas, as castern orators have insinuated, a newly-discovered para-